The Semantics of Complement Clause Types in Xɨmt'aŋa[1]

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Abstract: This paper examines the semantic features of complement clause types in Xɨmt'aŋa. Specifically, it describes, (1) the semantic relationship between the complement types and their complementizers, (2) the semantics of complement clause types based on their degree of reduction of information, (3) the manner of syntactic relation of complements to the matrix clauses in complement relation, and (4) the grammatical status of the complement predicates, in the language. The necessary data were collected from the native speakers using the elicitation technique. Then, the data have been analyzed qualitatively following the functional-typological approach.

In this paper, based on mood distinctions, the indicative and subjunctive complement clause types are identified. The meaning of the complement clause type in Xɨmt'aŋa is characterized by the choice of complementizer. The complement clause types of Xɨmt'aŋa also differ in their degree of reduction of information. The manner of syntactic relation of the notional complements to the matrix clause in complement relation of the language is hypotaxis in which both the main and the complement clause involve a single assertion, but not paratactic construction in which two separate assertions are involved with main and complement clauses. Depending on the function of the complement type, the grammatical status of the indicative and subjunctive complement predicates are coded as verbs; whereas, the participle complement predicates are coded as adjectives, and the nominalized complement predicates as nouns.

Introduction

The objective of this paper is to examine semantic features complement types in Xɨmt'aŋa. Xɨmt'aŋa is spoken in Amhara Regional State, in an area called Wag-Xɨmra which is about 720 kms North East of Addis Ababa. Wag-Xɨmra is one of the eleven administrative zones in the Amhara Regional State. According to the information from Amhara Regional Information Bureau (see Amhara Regional Information Bureau, 2001), Wag-Xɨmra Zone covers about 788,486 square kms. Majority of the people (above 90 %) live in the rural area and their main livelihood is farming. Xɨmt'aŋa is mainly spoken in Zɨk'^{w}ala, Säk'^{w}ät'a and Abärgälle districts.

According to Appleyard (1984; 2006), Xɨmt'aŋa is a member of Central Cushitic (Agew) language family which itself belongs to Cushitic of the Afro-Asiatic macro-family. The Agew family includes four interrelated languages, namely, Xɨmt'aŋa, Bilen, Awŋi and Kemantney. These four languages are again sub-grouped into two branches: Northern and Southern. The Northern branch includes Bilen which is, spoken in Keren, Eritrea; Kemantney that is, spoken in Chilga, Gonder and Xɨmt'aŋa, which is spoken in Wollo. The Southern branch includes Awŋi, that is spoken in Gojjam. Teshome (2007) mentioned that most of the Xɨmras (speakers of Xɨmt'aŋa) are bilinguals who speak, mainly Amharic and

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Xɨmt'aŋa, or Tigrigna and Xɨmt'aŋa. Some of the adults are monolinguals speaking Xɨmt'aŋa, and very few are polyglots who speak Xɨmt'aŋa, Amharic and Tigrinya. According to the 2007 census of Ethiopia, the total number of population of Wag-Xɨmra Administrative Zone is 426,038. The report of the Amhara Regional Information Bureau (2001) shows that, from the total number of the population, 46.84% are Xɨmt'aŋa, 50.92% are Amharic and 2.1% are Tigrinya speakers. Other few people speak other Ethiopian languages. From the total population, 99.6% are Orthodox Christians, 0.27% are Muslims and 0.13% are the followers of other religions. According to Appleyard (1987a), Xɨmt'aŋa has four main dialect areas. These are Abärgälle: east of Täkkäze river and north of the T'ɨrare river, Zɨk'^{w}ala: east of the Täkkäze and south and west of the T'ɨrare, centering on Zɨk'^{w}ala district, Säk'^{w}ät'a: in the region of the town and district of Säk'^{w}ät'a, and Sɨmen (Sɨhalla): west of the Täkkäze, in the district of Sɨhalla, and north along the eastern edge of the Sɨmen massif. This paper focuses on the Säk^{w}ät'a dialect which is spoken in Säk'^{w}ät'a distric in which most of the native speakers are found.

Concerning the previous studies of Xɨmt'aŋa, there are some published and unpublished works. Just to see what has been done so far in the language, let me review the published works of which Appleyard (1984; 1986; 1987a; 1987b; and 2006), Mengistu (1992), Darmon (2012 and 2014) and Eba (2013) are the accessible ones. The unpublished works included in this paper are Mengistu (1984 and 1989) and Teshome (2007 and 2015). Of course, there might be few other works which I could not access for the time being.

Appleyard's (1984) discusses the Agaw languages from a morphological perspective focusing on gender, number, and main and subordinate verb inflection.

Appleyard (1986) examines the Agaw radical extension system stating that this feature occurs in the three of the Agaw languages (Bilin, Xamir (Xɨmt'aŋa), and Kemant and Quara) as suffixes which is the only pattern of verb inflection in the Cushitic suffix-type. Only Awngi still retains a small number of verbs which show prefixed personal markers, but the derived stems of these follows the normal suffixing pattern. In the Agaw radical extension system three basic and underlying suffixes or groups of suffixes can be identified. These are, those extensions containing a sibilant, the S-type extensions; those containing a voiceless dental stop or what can be shown to be the regular developments of that, the T-type extensions; and thirdly, the least common of the three, that extension composed of a velar nasal, the Ŋ-type extension. According to Appleyard (1986), this system of radical extensions may be reconstructed for the Proto-Agaw. Specifically, in Xamir(Xɨmt'aŋa), the causative radical extension is -(ə)s for all stem types; the passive-reflexive radical extension shows the alternation between t and r within the inflectional paradigm of the stem; the usual passive radical extension is -(ə)š with also a few instance of -əšt; and the reciprocal is marked by the total reduplication of the verb stem plus the passive extension -(ə)š; but there is no trace of the extension -ŋ recorded in Xamir(Xɨmt'aŋa).

Appleyard (1987a) presents the phonological description of the language and identified thirty one consonants and five vowels. According to Appleyard (1987a), the vowel system of Xɨmt'aŋa is simpler than that of any of the other Agaw languages in that it has five vowel systems as against the seven of Bilen and Kemantney. Besides, Appleyard describes the nominal system of the language in four broad sections: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals. In the second volume, similarly, Appleyard (1987b) describes the verbal system of Xɨmt'aŋa based on the derivation of the verb stem and the inflectional morphology of

the verb of the language.

Appleyard's (2006) also indicates that the Agaw languages form a close family that can be divided into two branches, the North Agaw comprising the Bilin, Xamtanga and Kemant clusters, and the South Agaw consisting of Awngi. The internal relationship of the Agaw languages can be established firstly on the basis of shared phonological and morphological innovation, and is also corroborated by lexical comparison. In a similar manner, Mengistu's (1992) discusses that bound possessive forms are attached to the possessed noun in the language, and argues that these bound forms are clitics by invoking a general property of clitics; i.e., the property of case absorption.

Darmon (2012:192), firstly, has shown that the language uses types of lexical bases similar to those found in other Ethiopian languages, and that the light verb of transitive constructions š- is probably a frozen form of the causative of 'to say'. Secondly, she considers the light verb of transitive constructions as a feature of the Ethiopian linguistic area that Ethio-Semitic borrowed from Cushitic. Finally, she concludes that Northern Agäw is likely to have a significant role in the areal diffusion of light verb of transitive constructions, and suggests that Northern Agäw is possibly the source of light verb of transitive constructions in the entire branch of Agäw as part of the main Cushitic. Similarly, Darmon (2014:12-13) presents that the applicative in Xamtanga is based on a biverbal periphrastic construction, which licenses the expression of an additional beneficiary participant. The construction involves the converb form of a lexical verb followed by the valency operator yɨw- 'give'. Based on a comparison of the yɨw- 'give' periphrasis with other formally identical verb patterns, it is argued that the 'give' periphrasis in Xamtanga is a complex predicate. This kind of applicative construction with 'give' has been developed only in Xamtanga among the Ethiopian languages so far.

The other work written on Xɨmt'anga, Eba (2013), describes the verb inflectional features such as subject agreement categories (person, number and gender), tense, aspect and mood in the language. According to Eba (2013:107), person, number and gender in surface structures of the verbs are marked by various bound morphemes/suffixes. With respect to tense, the language has two tense distinctions: past and non-past (present and future). The past tense is marked by the morpheme -u while the non-past (present and future) tenses are marked by one and the same morpheme -ä2. Xɨmt'aŋa has also two grammatical aspects: perfective and imperfective. Perfective aspect is formed in accordance with the past tense of the language in which the marker morpheme is -u3 while imperfective aspect is expressed by using the bound morpheme -kus4 which indicates the action in progress. Mood[5] has also two distinct inflectional forms: debitative and potential moods. Debitive mood focuses on the obligation to do particular action; whereas, potential mood deals with

[2] In the data of this paper, the present tense is marked with *-äk*^{w} as in (2), and the future tense is marked with *-t', -t* or *-c'* as in (6a), (13) and (22a & b) respectively; but not by *-ä which is indicated as non*-past (present and future) tenses in Eba (2013).

[3] Both perfective and imperfective aspect in the data of this paper are not formally marked in the affirmative constructions; whereas in the negative constructions, they are marked with *-a* and *-i* as in (2) and (6b) respectively.

[4] An action in progress is marked with *-aŋ*^{w} in this paper, not by *-kus*, as seen in (25b).

[5] Mood distinctions in Xɨmt'aŋa are discussed in this paper widely with respect to the semantics of complement clause types in the language. Indicative and subjunctive moods are identified, and these can be seen in detail in this paper.

ability, potential and permission to perform an action. These classes of mood are marked by different morphemes for different persons and numbers (Eba 2013:107).

Among the unpublished works, Mengistu (1989) employs the GB Theory to analyze projection of the head nouns into higher levels and explain the particular relationship between the head and its complements. Similarly, Teshome (2007) describes the constituents of determiners in the language and shows their derivations based on the Minimalist Program. He also briefly describes the noun inflections, articles, pronouns, genitives and quantifiers of the language. Moreover, the other unpublished work, Teshome Belay (2015), describes the phonology and the morphology of the language exaustively; but the description of syntax of the language is a kind of sketch. In the syntax part, Teshome (2015) describes the word order, structure of noun phrases, interrogatives, comparison constructions and complex clauses of Xɨmt'aŋa. The basic word order in a simple declarative clause of Xɨmt'aŋa is mainly subject-object-verb (SOV); although there is also object-subject-verb (OSV) word order very rarely. A noun phrase can consist of just a noun alone, or a head noun with a definite suffix, or a head noun with different adnominal constituents such as attributive adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, genitives (possessives) and relative clauses. The order of constituents of the noun phrase follows certain patterns. In the attributive construction, the left most position of the noun phrase is reserved for a demonstrative. In the inclusion of multiple attributive modifiers in a noun phrase, the order of these attributive modifiers is a determiner + a numeral + a relative clause + a head noun, where the determiner may be either the demonstrative or a genitive NP. Under complex clauses, conditional clauses, purpose clause, complement clause, converb and cleft construction have been discussed. In relation to complement clause which is the focus of this paper, Teshome (2015) describes that a complement clause in Xɨmt'aŋa is marked by the morpheme -əŋə, but the complement clause is not marked for person, number and gender. No more is said on complement clause of the language in this work. A complex clause of the language contains one or more subordinate clauses and a main clause. When the subordinate and the main clauses occur in a complex clause, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

In general, most of the works reviewed above are focusing on the phonology and morphology of the language; and hence, there are still various topics to be studied. As a result, I am interested in describing the semantics of complement clause types of the language.

I examine the semantic relationship between the complement clause types and their complementizers, and discuss the semantics of complement clause types based on their degree of reduction of information. I also describe the manner (method) of syntactic relation of complement clauses to the matrix clauses in complement relation, and present the grammatical status of the complement predicates of Xɨmt'aŋa.

I elicited and recorded data discussed in this paper from the native speakers of the language. I used elicitation technique as data collection technique. In this technique, I prepared sentences which show complement relations in a way that the analysis of the data should be done. I prepared the sentences in Amharic that is the common language for the researcher and the informants. Then, I collected data one by one and cross-checked with the informants. After collecting, checking and organizing the data, I made a thorough examination of phonemic transcription, translation and analysis of data. I analyzed the data

qualitatively by following the Functional-Typological Approach.

Conceptual Framework

In this paper, I employed the functional- typological approach. The functional-typological approach, according to Cristofaro (2003), is an essentially empiricist approach. Its starting point is the existence of cross-linguistic variation and aim is to find the patterns underlying it. The functional-typological approach seeks to account for language structure in terms of language function, in that, at least certain aspects of language structure depend on, and can be explained in terms of language function. This is the strongest and most distinctive explanatory hypothesis of the functional-typological approach (Cristofaro 2003).
In keeping with the functional-typological approach, the notion of complement relation refers to a dependent clause functions as an argument of a main predicate (Noonan 1985; and Cristofaro 2003). According to Cristofaro (2003), complement relations link two SoA (State of Affair) such that one of them (the main clause) entails the other one (the dependent clause). The assumption that a complement clause functions as an argument of the main predicate usually implies that this clause is embedded in the main clause as a nominal constituent of it. The semantic features of complement relations can be identified on the basis of the predicate coding the main SoA, or complement-taking predicate. In order to examine complement relations, first, one should know the classes of complement-taking predicates, Noonan (1985) and Cristofaro (2003), which are listed below.

i. Modales (‘must’, ‘can’, ‘may’, ‘be able’, etc.)
ii. Phasals (‘start’, ‘begin’, ‘continue’, ‘stop’, etc)
iii. Manipulatives (‘order’, ‘make’, ‘persuade’, ‘force’, etc)
iv. Desideratives (‘want’, ‘wish’, ‘hope’, etc)
v. Perception (‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘feel’, ‘watch’, etc)
vi. Knowledge (‘know’, ‘understand’, ‘realize’, etc)
vii. Propositional attitude (‘think’, ‘believe’, ‘suppose’, etc)
viii. Utterance (‘say’, ‘tell’, ‘report’, ‘promise’, etc)

These predicate classes involve different complement relation types between main and dependent SoA (Noonan (1985) and Cristofaro (2003)); and hence the semantic features of the complement types in Xɨmt'aŋa have been examined based on these predicate classes in this study.

The Semantics of Complement Clause Types in Xɨmt'aŋa

According to Noonan (1985), complementation is basically a matter of relating a particular complement type to a particular complement-taking predicate. The reason for this relation is the semantic relation between predicate and complement that is inherent in the meaning of the complement-taking predicate (CTP) and in the morphology and syntax of the complement type. “Factors that can affect the semantic potential of a complement type are inherent modality, such as mood distinctions; degree of reduction of information, choice of complementizer, method of syntactic relation to the matrix clause: subordination versus

parataxis, and grammatical status of the notional predicate: verb, noun (in nominalized complements), adjective (in participial complements)" Noonan (1985:91). Based on these factors, the complement types of Xɨmt'aŋa are the following.

Mood Distinctions

The term mood refers to a grammatical category, while modality refers to a semantic category. The two are related in that mood categories can usually be viewed as grammaticalizations of modalities (Noonan, 1985). There are three sorts of complement dependencies. These are time reference dependency, truth value dependency and discourse dependency, which are illustrated below separately.

Time Reference Dependency

"A complement has dependent or determined time reference (DTR) if its time reference is a necessary consequence of the meaning of the CTP)" (Noonan 1985:92). Time-reference dependency is the most basic of these dependencies, and the property of DTR is almost always included in the modalities represented by the subjunctive (Noonan 1985). In Xɨmt'aŋa, as illustrated from (1) - (3) below, the complements, (underlined in the examples), have DTR and typically refer to a future world state relative to the time reference of the CTPs (i.e. the verbs of the main clauses). This means, the complements have only a future time reference with respect to the time reference of the CTPs azz– 'order', tämz– 'want', bänn– 'need', which are the main verbs in the complex sentences. Here, there is no future tense marker on the complement verbs but it is inferred from the time reference of the CTPs. Complements are dependent on the CTPs of the main clauses in their time reference; however, both of them are marked for their subject arguments. The same is true for the CTPs such as t'uš– 'must', čäl– 'can'[6] and ak'd– 'plan'. But in (4) and (5) below, the complements have a past time reference of the CTPs azz– 'order' and tämz– 'want', and thus are ruled out as follows:

1) yan ŋɨr tär–r–ans azz–ø–u–n
I she come–3FSG–COMP order–1SG–PAST–1[7]
'I ordered her to come.'

2) yan ŋɨr tär–a–y– r–äŋä tämz–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I she come–IMPRF–NEG–3FSG–COMP want–1SG–PRES–1
'I want her not to come.'

3) ŋay yan ɨtt fit'–ø–ans bänn–iŋ–äkʷ
they I there go–1SG–COMP need–3PL–PRES
'They need me to go there.'

4) *yan ŋɨr tɨgra tät–r–ans azz–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I she yesterday come–3FSG–COMP order–1SG–PRES–1
'I order her to come yesterday.'

5) *yan ŋɨr tɨgra tär–a –y–r–äŋä tämz–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I she yesterday come–IMPERF–NEG–3FSG–COMP want 1SG–PRES–1
'I want her not to come yesterday.'

As provided above, CTPs that represent commands, requests, intentions, desires, expressions of necessity, ability, and obligation are among those whose complements have

[6] Modal predicates like t'uš– 'must' and čäl– 'can' have complements with DTR. That means, complements to these modals refer to either future events or states relative to the time reference of the CTP (modal predicate). We can see one example in (13). The modal predicates can be marked for tense and person in Xɨmt'aŋa. For more illustrations, see Andualem (2010).

[7] 1 refers to first person singular and plural pronouns which are marked by *–(ɨ)n*. The morpheme can be *–n* after a vowel as in (1 & 2) or *–ɨn* after a consonant as in (4 & 5). Here, the vowel *ɨ* can be considered as epenthetic vowel; because the labiovelar consonant *kʷ* is pronounced as two consonants and hence the epenthetic *ɨ* comes before the third consonant *n*. The two first person pronouns are marked separately immediately after the verb roots, in that the singular is by *ø* as in (1) and (2), and the plural is by *–ɨn* as in (27a).

DTR. On the other hand, complements, in many CTPs, have Independent Time Reference (ITR). Complements with ITR include those that assert, report, and comment on as background, or make truth-value judgments about their complements, as illustrated in (6). The complements are indicated with underline hereafter to make the illustration more clear.

6) a.	yan	misänä	tär–t'–u	aq–änäw–d	k'än–ø–äk^{w}–in
	I	Misänä	come–FUT–3MSG	AUX–NZR–DEF	like–1SG–PRES–1
	'I like that Misänä will come.				
b.	yan	misänä	tär–i–y–äw	aq–änäw–d	k'än–ø–äk^{w}–in
	I	Misänä	come–PERF–NEG–3MSG	AUX–NZR–DEF	like–1SG–PRES–1
	'I like that Misänä did not come.'				

As we see the examples in (6), the time reference of the complement is not bound by the time reference of the CTP and such complements are indicative in their mood. For instance in (6a), the time reference of the complement, misänä tärt'u aqänäwd 'that Misänä will come' is in the future relative to the time reference of the main clause, yän … k'änäk^{w}in 'I like…'. For the same time reference of this main clause, the time reference of the complement, in (6b), misänä täriyäw aqänäwd 'that Misänä did not come', is in the past. This means that the time reference of the complements is independent of the time reference of the CTPs of the main clauses.

Truth Value (Epistemic) Dependency

Noonan (1985:92) states, ''A complement is truth-value dependent if the complement construction containing it involves an explicit qualification of commitment to the truth of the proposition embedded in the complement''. According to Noonan (1985), truth value dependent complements are those whose CTP expresses a kind of propositional attitude toward the truth of the complement, for example CTPs such as think, believe, doubt, deny and be possible in English. Complements to such predicates have ITR. A much more situation is for languages to distinguish between positive propositional attitudes and negative or dubitative propositional attitudes. The complements with positive propositional attitudes or with assertions and reports of assertions are indicative and the negative or dubitative propositional attitudes with DTR complements are subjunctive, in their moods. These are described in the following subsections.

a. Indicative Complement clauses

The indicative complements are associated with the CTPs such as dɨq^{w}– 'speak/tell', hasb– 'think', k'äsäw yäŋ 'it is good', wäš– 'hear', yɨ– 'say', k'än– 'like', etc. which express positive propositional attitudes or assertions and reports of assertions. Let us see the examples below:

7)	yan	misänä	tär–t'–u	*aq–ø –aŋ̈ä*	*dɨq^{w}–ø –u –n*
	I	Misänä	come–FUT–3MSG	AUX–3MSG–COMP	speak–1SG–PAST–1
	'I spoke that Misänä will come.'				
8)	ŋaŋ	kɨt	zɨlaq–t–ɨr–ø	aq–r–ø–äŋä	hasb–ø–äk^{w}

he you tire–FUT–2–2SG AUX–2–2SG–COMP think–3MSG–PRES
'He thinks that you will tire.'

9) kɨt yɨt čɨŋ–är aq–änäw–d k'äsäw yäŋ
you me meet–2SG AUX–NZR–DEF good be
'It is good that you met me.'

In all the examples from (7 - 9) above, the complements are indicative; and they can be distinguished with their realis modality. Because, realis modality is associated with complements whose properties are asserted as a fact or commented on as a factual or actual event or state. For instance, in (7), the message in the complement misäñätärt'u aqäŋä 'that misänä will come' is presented as fact with the CTP dɨqʷ– 'speak'. The same is true with the CTPs such as hasb– 'think', k'äsäw yäŋ 'it is good', wäš– 'hear', yɨ– 'say', k'än– 'like', etc which express positive propositional attitudes or assertions and reports of assertions.

b. Subjunctive Complement clauses

Subjunctive complement clauses are associated with CTPs having negative or dubitative propositional attitudes and DTR contexts such as requests, commands, intentions, desires, etc., as illustrated below.

10) yan ŋäŋ tär–t'–u aq–ø–äŋä t'artɨrš–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I he come–FUT–3MSG AUX–3MS–COMP doubt–1SG–PRES–1
'I doubt that he will come.'

11) yan ŋäŋ tär–t'–u aq–ø –äŋä amn–a–k'är–ø–m
I he come–FUT–3MSG AUX–3MSG–COMP believe–IMPRF–NEG–1SG–FNTZR
'I do not believe that he will come.'

12) yan ŋäŋ tär–ø–ans azz–ø–u–n
I he come–3MSG–COMP order–1SG–PAST–1
'I ordered him to come.'

13) yan qal–ø–c'–ä čäl–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I see–FUT–1SG–COMP can–1SG–PRES–1
'I can see.'

All the complements in the above sentences from (10) – (13) have irrealis modality since they do not imply that their SoA is presented as factual event or state. For instance in (13), qalc'ä 'I to see' is not asserted as actual event, and hence it has irrealis modality which comes directly from the semantic feature of CTP čäl– 'can'. The same is true for the CTPs such as t'artɨrš– 'doubt', amnak'är– 'do not believe', tämz– 'want', gäwt'– 'fear', azz– 'order' , bännɨzäw yäŋ 'It is necessary', and hasb– 'think'.

Discourse Dependency

"A complement is discourse dependent if the proposition it contains constitutes part of the common ground or background to a discourse'' Noonan (1985:98). Based on discourse

dependency, there are two types of complements in Xɨmt'aŋa. These are non-assertive complements which are discourse-dependent subjunctive complements, and assertive complements which are not discourse-dependent, also called indicative complements. Let us illustrate them separately in the following subsections:

Non-assertive Complement clauses

A non-assertive complement contains a proposition which constitutes a common ground for the speaker and hearers, and hence it doesn't encode new information. Such complements have roles for presenting background facts, negative propositional attitudes, hypothesis, commands, requests, intentions, or desires, as illustrated with the following examples.

14) yan kɨt ɨnn tär–a–y–r–är aq–änäw–d täk'awmš–ø–äkʷ–ɨn

I you here come–IMPRF–NEG–2–2SG AUX–NZR–DEF deny–1SG–PRES–1

'I deny that you don't come here.'

15) yan t'amtäw kɨt t'az–ø–u y–ä hasb–ä–k'är–ø–m

I Tamtäw you hit–3MSG–PAST say–1SG think–IMPRF–NEG–1SG–FNTLR

'I don't think that Tamtäw hit you.'

16) yan ŋay tär–ŋ–ans tämz–ø–äkʷ–ɨn

I they come–3PL–COMP want–1SG–PRES–1

'I want them to come.'

17) yan ŋay tär–ŋ–ans azz–ø–äkʷ–ɨn

I they come–3PL–COMP order–1SG–PRES–1

'I order them to come.'

The complements in the above examples are non-assertive. For instance, in (17), the complement ŋay tärŋans 'they to come' is non-assertive in that it doesn't give discourse independent information. Rather it encodes discourse dependent given request through the CTP azz– 'order', which the hearers know the information in the complement. Therefore, the function of the complements from (14) – (17) is to comment on the discourse dependent information, but not to assert new information.

Assertive Complements

Assertive complements are not discourse dependent. This means, the proposition of these complements is not part of the common ground for the participants in the discourse, or the hearers do not know the information in such complements. Let us see the examples from (18) – (19):

18) kiros kɨ–gɨs ginzɨb yɨw–änäw–d k'än–ø–äkʷ–ɨn

Kiros your–DAT money give–NZR–DEF like–1SG–PRES–1

'I like it that Kiros gave money to you.'

19) kiros ŋäŋ bär–t'–u aq–ø–äŋä yɨ–gɨs diqʷ–ø–u
Kiros he leave–FUT–3MSG AUX–3MSG–COMP my–DAT tell–3MSG–PAST
'Kiros told me that he will leave.'

The complements in the above sentences are assertive. For instance in (19), the complement ŋäŋ bärt'u aqäŋä 'that he will leave' is assertive since the information in it is new for the hearer, and the same is true for other complements with the CTPs like hasb– 'think', y– 'say', k'än– 'like', diqʷ– 'tell', etc. which express assertion, report of assertion and positive propositional attitude.

Degree of Reduction of Information

According to Noonan (1985:100), "There is a general principle in complementation that information tends neither to be repeated nor lost''. Based on this principle, reduced complements are typically associated with predicates whose complements have DTR, and are likely to lack tense distinctions. Such complements for instance, in English, are associated with infinitives which are frequently restricted to DTR contexts since their use elsewhere would result in information loss. In Xɨmt'aŋa , such reduced complements associate with DTR contexts, such as commands, requests, intentions, desires, etc are subjunctives, not infinitives, since they have at least person agreement distinctions in most cases in both their affirmative and negative forms and aspect distinctions in their negative forms, as seen in (20) and (21) below. However, they are reduced in their tense distinctions in most cases in both affirmative and negative constructions. The complements with the CPTs such as amnɨs– 'convince', dämz– 'want', and wisn– 'decide' are also reduced in their tense distinictions in the language. The reason why is the tense information reduced is that the time reference of complements is already determined by the time reference of the CTPs. And hence, the time referenece of complements becomes in the future time with respect to the time point of the act of command, request, intention or desire. Thus, the information will not be repeated nor lost, as in (20) and (21).

20) kiros ŋay šɨla zɨy–ŋ–ans dämz–ø–äkʷ
Kiros they beer drink–3PL–COMP want–3MSG–PRES
'Kiros wants them to drink beer.'

21) kiros ŋay ŋɨn–tɨgʷä fir–a–y–ŋ–äŋä azz–ø–u
Kiros they house–GOAL go–IMPRF–NEG–3PL–COMP order–3MSG–PAST
'Kiros ordered them not to go to house.'

However, in the context of desire or intention for oneself, the complements display their future time reference. In other words, when the main and complement predicates share the same subject, the subjunctive complements are expressed with future tense marker and the complementizer also changes at the same time. This also shows that the degree of reduction even among the subjunctive complements varies, as illustrated in (22a & b).

22) a. ŋay šɨla zɨy–t–ɨŋ–ä dämz–ø–äkʷ
they beer drink–FUT–3PL–COMP want–3PL–PRES
'They want to drink beer.'

22) b. ŋɨr kʷɨrä xʷä–t–t–ä wisn–ɨ–č
she food eat–FUT–3FSG–COMP decide–PAST–3FSG
'She decided to eat food.'

On the other hand, indicative complements are normally excluded from DTR contexts since they are typically coded for tense, and therefore, the expression of tense in such cases is redundant. In Xɨmt'aŋa, indicative complements are coded for tense, for examples, in their future use with the marker – t'/–t, as in (23a); in their remote past use with the past auxiliary verb win– 'was/had', as in (23b); and in their present use with the present auxiliary verb aq– 'AUX', as in (24a). However, indicative complements are reduced for tense only in their simple past use, as in (24b). These all show that the degree of reduction of information in indicative complement type is lower than in that of the subjunctive type, and this can affect the semantic potential of the complement types in Xɨmt'aŋa.

23) a. ŋay ŋäŋ tär–t'–u aq–ø–äŋä arq–ɨŋ–äkʷ
they he come–FUT–3MSG AUX–3MSG–COMP know–3PL–PRES

23) b. ŋay ŋäŋ tär–ø win–ø–äŋä arq–ɨŋ–äkʷ
they he come–3MSG AUX–3MSG–COMP know–3PL–PRES
'They know that he will come.'

24) a. yan kɨt ginzɨb–d sɨŋʷ–r –ø –aŋʷ aq–r–ø–äŋä
I you money–DEF steal–2–2SG–PROG AUX–2 –2SG–COMP

amn–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
believe–1SG –PRES–1
'I believe that you are stealing the money.'

24) b. yan kɨt ginzɨb–d sɨŋʷ–r–ø–äŋä amn–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I you money–DEF steal–2–2SG–COMP believe–1SG–PRES–1
'I believe that you stole the money.'

Choice of Complementizer

Noonan (1985) defines complementizers as complement types often have associated with them a word, particle, clitic, or affix whose function is to identify the entity as a complement. Such forms are known as complementizers. In Xɨmt'aŋa, all the complementizers, as illustrated below, are bound forms as opposed to independent words. Specifically, bound forms are either clitics or affixes. From these two forms, the complementizers in Xɨmt'aŋa are affixes. This is because; clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection (Mengistu 1992). This means, distributionally, clitics can attach to a wide range of words of different categories, but affixes are quite restricted to a particular category. In Xɨmt'aŋa, complementizers attach themselves only to the verb category, and the semantic potential of a complement type is affected by its choice of complementizer. Now, I illustrate the complement types with their choice of complementizer in the language, and observe the semantic effect of complementizers on the complement type to which it is attached.

Indicative (–äŋä) Complement clause

Formally, indicative complement clause most closely resembles declarative main clauses; i.e., its syntactic relation of subject to predicate and range of inflectional categories are the same as main clause (Noonan 1985). In Xɨmt'aŋa, as shown in the data (25) below, syntactically the predicates in the complements agree with the subjects in person, number and gender. Moreover, the predicates in indicative complements can be expressed with future tense as in (25d), present tense and progressive aspect as in (25b), imperfective and perfective aspects in their negative forms as in (25c) and (25e), and with no tense or aspect marker in their affirmative perfective use as in (25a). Therefore, the indicative (–äŋä) complements in Xɨmt'aŋa are nearly identical to declarative main clauses except they are not marked with the simple past tense markers, as seen in (25a). Let us see the examples here:

25) a. yan kɨt ŋɨt–gɨs ginzɨb yɨw–r–ɨn–äŋä arq–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I you him–DAT money give–2–2PL–COMP know–1SG–PRES–1
'I know that you gave money to him.

b. ŋɨr yan bɨčäri–d kil–ø–aŋʷ aq–ø–äŋä
she I glass–DEF break–1SG–PROG AUX–1SG–COMP
gimt–ɨ–č
guess–PAST–3FSG
'She guessed that I am breaking the glass.'

c. yan ŋɨr zäf–d k'äb–i–y–r–äŋä arq–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I she tree–DEF cut–PERF–NEG–3FSG–COMP know–1SG–PRES–1
'I know that she did not cut the tree.'

d. yan ŋay zäf–d k'äb–t–ɨk'ʷ aq–ø–äŋä arq–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I they tree–DEF cut–FUT–3PL AUX–3PL–COMP know–1SG–PRES–1
'I know that they will cut the tree.'

e. yan ŋay zäf–d k'äb–a–y–äk'ʷ aq–ä–äŋä
I they tree–DEF cut–IMPRF–NEG–3PL AUX–3PL–COMP
arq–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
know–1SG–PRES–1
'I know that they do not / will not cut the tree.'

Semantically, when the complements are associated with the complementizer –äŋä, they become indicative and have realis modality which is associated with complements whose propositions are asserted as facts or commented on as factual or actual events or states.

Subjunctive Complement clauses

"Non–indicative sentence like complement type can be referred to by the semantically neutral term subjunctive. For a particular language, a term with more semantic content such as, a term with more semantic content such as optative, irrealis, potential, etc. might be more appropriate'' Noonan (1985:51). This means that the indicative and subjunctive verbal forms differ in mood. The subjunctive complements have a future time reference relative to the time reference of the CTP and irrealis modality which comes directly from the CTPs that represent commands, requests, intentions, desires, and conditions. These complement types, in Xɨmt'aŋa, are associated with the complementizers –ans, –ä, –š, or –

an based on the semantic features of the subjunctive complements as illustrated below separately:

–ans Complement clauses

Complement clauses associated with the complementizer –ans can be said as –ans complement clauses, as illustrated below:

26) a. ŋay ŋäŋ ginzɨb–d sɨŋʷ–ø–ans asgädɨd–z–u–ŋ
They he money–DEF steal–3MSG–COMP force–CAUS–PAST–3PL
'They forced him to steal the money.'

b. ŋäŋ ŋɨr bät–r–ans azz–ø–u
he she leave–3FSG–COMP order–3MSG–PAST
'He ordered her to leave.'

c. ŋay yɨn ɨtt fir–n–ans tämz –ø –ä–kʷ
they we there go–1PL–COMP want–3PL–PRES
'They want us to go there.'

d. yan ŋäŋ ŋɨt bär–a–y–ø–äŋä waqr–ø–u–n
I he him leave–IMPRF–NEG–3MSG–COMP ask–1SG–PAST–1
'I asked him not to leave.'

As we see the examples in (26), the complementizer –ans is used only in the affirmative subjunctive complements, as in (26a, b & c). When the complements with –ans change to negative, the complementizer becomes –äŋä, as in (26d). If we see the CTPs, such as, waqr– 'ask' in (26d), tämz– 'want' in (26c), azz– 'order' in (26b) and asgädɨdz– 'cause to force' in (26a), the complementizer –ans is associated with complements to which the meaning of commands, requests, intentions, desires or manipulatives is attached.

–ä Complement clauses

Complement clauses associated with the complementizer –ä can be said as –ä complement clauses, as illustrated in (27).

27) a. yɨn ɨtt fir–ø–n–ä tämz–ɨn–äkʷ–ɨn
we there go–FUT–1PL–COMP want–1PL–PRES–1
'We want to go there.'

b. ŋay ŋɨr–gɨs däbdabi s'af–t –ɨŋ–ä hasb–u–ŋ
they her–DAT letter write–FUT–3PL–COMP think–PAST–3PL
'They though to write a letter to her.'

c. yɨn ɨtt fir–a–y–n–äŋä tämz–ɨn –ǎkʷ– ɨn
we there go–IMPRF–NEG–1PL–COMP want–1PL–PRES–1
'We want not to go there.'

Complements which are associated with the complementizer –ä, like –ans, are also used only in affirmative complements. When –ä complements change to negative forms, the complementizer becomes –äŋä, as in (27c). Unlike –ans, the contexts for –ä complements

are limited to the intentions of one-self to do some actions. In other words, the –ä complements cannot be associated with CTPs expressing commands, requests or manipulations like –ans complements. The –ans complements do not share the same participant with the main clauses; whereas, the –ä complements are only used in the context of sharing participant. Therefore, the choice of complementizer differs according to the semantic features of the complement relation types.

3.3.2.3. –š and –an Complement clauses

Complement clauses associated with the complementizer –š can be said as –š complement clauses, and complements associated with the complementizer –an can also be said as –an complement clauses. Both –š and –an complementizers in Xɨmt'aŋa are equivalent to the 'if' complementizer in English, as illustrated below:

28) a. yan ŋäŋ bär–ø–š xazn–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I he leave–3MSG–COMP regret–1SG–PRES–1
'I regret if he leaves.'

b. yan ŋay ǰɨm–a–y–äk'ʷ aq–ŋ–iš xazn–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I they sing–IMPRF–NEG–3PL AUX–3PL–COMP regret–1SG–1
'I regret if they do not sing.'

29) a. yan ŋay tär–ø–an amn–ø –ɨč'–ä
I they come–3PL–COMP believe–FUT–1SG–COMP
win–i–ø –k'är–m
AUX–PERF–NEG–1SG–FNTZR
'I was not about to believe if they had come.'

b. yan ŋay ǰɨm–a–y–äk'ʷ aq–ŋ–an
I they sing–IMPRF–NEG–3PL AUX–3PL–COMP
xazn–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
regret–1SG–PRES–1
'I was about to regret if they had not sung.'

The –š and –an complement clauses are associated with non-factual or irreal modality as we see –š in (28) and –an in (29). Both –š and –an are used as complementizers where the usual positive implications associated with a given CTP are not meant to hold. In other words, the CTPs here express a negative propositional attitude amounting to a denial of the proposition embedded in their complements, as in all the examples in (28) and (29) above. Otherwise, –š and –an function as adverbial connectives in conditional clauses of the language. The difference between the complements with –š and –an is the possibility of the occurrence of their event or state. This means that –š is associated with the possible event or state, while –an with the impossible event or state of a given complement. Of course, like other subjunctive complement clauses, the –š and –an complements characterized with irreal modality.

Participle Complement clauses (with no Complementizer)

Participles are adjectival or adverbial forms of the verbs (Noonan 1985). In complementation, participles are not the heads of complements, but rather they modify some nouns which function as the head. In Xɨmt'aŋa, participles, in complementation,

function as attributive adjectives. The only place in complement systems where regularly found is in complements to immediate perception predicates, as shown below in (30a and b). Here, the object of the immediate perception predicate is head, and the participle is qualifying the head. This complement type, however, does not have complementizer in the language. Let us see the data below:

30) a. yan ŋäŋ ǰɨm–ø–aŋʷ wäč'–ø–u–n
I he sing–3MSG–PROG hear–1SG–PAST–1
'I heard him singing.'

b. yan ŋäŋ čɨbrɨs–ø qal–ø–u–n
I he stop–3MSG see–1SG–PAST–1
'I saw him stopped.'

As we can see the data, the verb form ǰɨmaŋʷ 'singing' in (30a) is the present participle form of the verb ǰɨm– 'sing', while the verb form čɨbrɨs 'having stopped' in (30b) is the past participle of the verb čɨbrɨs– 'stop' in the complement. Semantically, participle complements are particularly associated with perception predicates which refer to the way an experiencer perceives the occurrence of events embedded in the complements.

Nominalized Complement clauses (with no Complementizer)

''Nominalized complements are predications with the internal structure of noun phrases. The predicate becomes nominalized, assuming the form of a verbal noun, and takes over the role of head noun of the noun phrase'' Noonan (1985:60). Based on this definition, Xɨmt'aŋa has the nominalized complement type with no complementizer, as illustrated below:

31) a. yan ɨǰɨr–dyä–t askɨs–änäw kirm–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I man–DEF–ACC watch–NZR start–1SG–PRES–1
'I start watching to man.'

b. yan mi xʷ–änäw–d čɨbrs–ø–u–n
I ɨnjära eat–NZR–DEF stop–1SG–PAST–1
'I stopped eating ɨnjära(Amh.).'

The nominalized complements in (31) are the arguments of the main predicates. The form –änäw is not complementizer, rather, it is the derivational affix which can derive verbal nouns from the verb category. Because, nominalized predicate may occur with articles, case markers, adpositions, and in some cases may even be pluralized. For instance, in (31b), the nominalized predicate occurs with the definite article –d. Moreover, other derivational affixes such as causative as in (32a) and passivizer as in (32b) can occur with it.

32) a. yan qal–ɨšt–änäw tämz–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I see–PASS–NZR want–1SG–PRES–1
'I want to be seen.'

b. yan gɨzɨŋ–d qal–s–änäw tämz–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I dog–DEF see–CAUS–NZR want–1SG–PRES–1
'I want to show the dog.'

In general, the choice of complementizer, in Xɨmt'aŋa, differs according to the type of complement clauses. The indicative complement clauses are associated with –äŋä; while the subujunctive complements are associated with –ans, –ä, –š, and –an complementizers. The subjunctive complement clauses with –ans and –ä will have –äŋä complementizer in their negative forms. However, the participle and nominalized complements have no complementizers in Xɨmt'aŋa. Therefore, depending on the choice of complementizer, a complement type can have different semantic effect. The complementizers in Xɨmt'aŋa, are not only the neutral markers of a complement type but also they bring their own meaning with the complement associated with them.

Manner of Syntactic Relation to the Matrix

''Notional complements may be rendered (1) as subordinate clauses or (2) as verb phrases in paratactic constructions, in which case they are syntactically on a par with the clause containing the CTP'' (Noonan, 1985:106). This syntactic difference can be exploited to create semantic contrasts between paratactic and subordinate complement types. The semantic difference, then, between parataxis and hypotaxis (subordination) in complementation involves the number of assertions the construction contains; each clause in the paratactic construction is a separate assertion, whereas in hypotaxis there is a single assertion involving both CTP and complement.

In Xɨmt'aŋa, as we have seen the examples so far, the manner of syntactic relation of the national complements to the matrix (main clause) is hypotaxsis (subordination). Even in causative and immediate perception contexts in which paratactic complements typically occur, a complement is syntactically subordinate to the matrix, and semantically, the complement together with a given CTP involves a single assertion, as shown in (33).

33) a. yan ɨǰɨr–dyä–t säb s'ab–ø–aŋ^{w} qal–ø–u– n
I man–DEF–ACC work do–3MSG–PROG see–1SG–PAST–1
'I saw the man doing work.'

b. yan ɨǰɨr–dyä–t säb s'ab–ø–ø–ans
I man–DEF–ACC work do–IMPRF–3MSG–COMP
amn–ɨs–ø–u–n
believe–CAUS–1SG–PAST–1
'I persuaded the man to do work.'

As we see the examples, the complement ɨǰɨrdyät säb s'abaŋ^{w} with the perception predicate qal– 'see' in (33a) and the complement ɨǰɨrdyät sab s'abans with the causative predicate amnɨs– 'persuade' in (33b) cannot stand as a separate independent clause and cannot be a separate assertion by themselves, i.e., they are dependent and together with the matrix clause give a single assertion.

Grammatical Status of the Complement Predicate

The function of the complement type in complementation determines the grammatical status of the complement predicates as verb, noun or adjective. According to Noonan (1985), since complement predicates are coded as verbs in the great majority of cases, coding predicates as verbs can be viewed as the unmarked case; and indeed, there are

languages which allow this as the only possibility for coding predicates. On the other hand, the complement predicates coded as nouns or adjectives are the marked cases, noting that these forms always coexist in complement systems with predicates coded as verbs.

In Xɨmt'aŋa, shown in the complement types in section (3.3), the indicative complement predicates and the subjunctive complement predicates are coded as verbs; whereas the participle complement predicates are coded as adjectives and the nominalized complement predicates as nouns. Additionally, we can illustrate them with the examples in (34, 35, 36 & 37) below:

Indicative and Subjunctive Complement Predicates as Verbs

As we see the examples in (34), the indicative complement predicate anbɨbräŋä 'that she read' in (34c) and, the subjunctive complement predicates such as dibt'ä 'he to close' in (34a), arqäw aqäš 'if he knows in (34b) and anbɨbrans 'she to read' in (34d) are coded or function as verbs.

34) a. ɨtärä–d birä–d dib–t'–ø–ä aǰ–ø –u
boy–DEF door–DEF close–FUT–3MSG–COMP remember–3MSG–PAST
'The boy remembered to close the door.'

b. yan adäru t'amtäw–t arq–äw aq–ø–äš
I Adäru Tamtäw–ACC know–3MSG AUX–3MSG–COMP
arq–ä–ø–k'är–m
know–IMPRF–NEG–1SG –FNTZR
'I do not know if Adäru knows Tamtäw.'

c. yan mäs'af–d anbɨb–r–äŋä arq–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I book–DEF read–3FSG–COMP know–1SG–PRES–1
'I know that she read the book.'

d. ŋaŋ ŋɨr–gɨs mäs'af–d anbɨb–r–ans dɨqʷ–ø–u
he her–DAT book–DEF read–3FSG–ans tell–3MSG–PAST
'He told her to read the book.'

Complement Predicates as Nouns

Nominalizations can be divided into two types: nominalized propositions and activity or state nominalizations. Nominalized propositions are used by speakers to refer to information given previously in a discourse or taken as background to a discourse and, of course, do not in themselves constitute assertions. Activity or state nominalizations are used to refer to kinds of activities or states, not to specific events constituting background information (Noonan 1985). In Xɨmt'aŋa, these two types of nominalizations are observed as illustrated below in (35) & 36).

I. Nominalized Propositions

35) a. adäru–tu kiros–dyä–t t'az–änäw yɨt xazn–ɨs–ø –u

Adaru–POSS Kiros–DEF–ACC hit–NZR me be.sad–CAUS–3MSG–PAST

‘Adäru’s hitting Kiros caused me sad.’

b. kɨw šɨla zɨy–änäw–d s’ɨw–r–ø–ans s’ab–ø –u

your local.beer drink–NZR–DEF sick–2–2SG–COMP make–3MSG–PAST

‘Your drinking local beer made you sick.’

II. Activity or state nominalization

36) a. biltä k’ɨw–änäw adäru–t ɨmt’ɨŋ–z–äkʷ

rabbit kill–NZR Adäru–ACC be.happy–CAUS–PRES

‘Killing rabbit make Adäru happy’

b. ɨxʷɨr–i–z šɨla zɨy–änäw–d kiros täk’awmɨš–ø–äkʷ

children–DEF–POSS beer drink–NZR–DEF Kiros deny–3MSG–PRES

‘Kiros denies children’s drinking beer.'

As we see the data in (35) and (36) above, nominalizations of either sort result in a sort of objectification of the predicate, investing it with the status of a name.

Adjectivalized Complement Predicates

‘‘As nominalization involves objectivalization of predicates, adjectivalization involves converting predicates into modifiers or qualifiers, specifying either attributes of nominals or attendant circumstances of events’’ (Noonan, 1985:109). In Xɨmt'aŋa, adjectivalized predications or participles, characteristically, have the ability to express simultaneity with another event and the sharing of arguments with the main event, and this feature makes the participle quite suitable for use with immediate perception predicates, as illustrated below in (37).

37) a. yan kiros ŋɨn–d bär–ø–aŋʷ qal–ø–u–n
I Kiros house-DEF leave–3MSG–PROG See-1SG-PAST-1
‘I saw Kiros leaving the house.’

b. yan kiros wirba-d kär–ø–aŋʷ qal–ø–u–n
I Kiros river-DEF cross–3MSG–PROG see–1SG–PAST–1
‘I saw Kiros crossing the river.’

c. *yan adäru ŋɨ–lɨk’ʷ–d kil–ø–aŋʷ amn–ø–äkʷ–ɨn
I Adäru his–leg–DEF break–3MSG believe–1SG–PRES–1
‘I believe Adäru breaking his leg.’

If we see the example in (37a), the two events: seeing and leaving are simultaneous and share a national argument, Kiros, and it is the same for the example in (37b). However, the characteristics of participle that make it compatible with immediate perception predicates

make it unsuitable for use with most CTPs, just like the example in (37c).

Summary

The aim of this paper is to describe the semantic features of complement types in Xɨmt'aŋa. To achieve this objective, the necessary data were collected from the native speakers using the elicitation technique. Then, the data have been analyzed qualitatively by following the functional-typological approach. To analyze the semantics of complement types in the language, different factors (parameters), such as mood distinctions, degree of reduction of information, choice of complementizer, method of syntactic relation to the matrix clause, and grammatical status of the notional predicate in the complements are considered.

The indicative and subjunctive complement types are identified in Xɨmt'aŋa based on three sorts of dependency. These are time reference dependency, truth-value dependency, and discourse dependency, which are based on Mood distinctions. The subjunctive complements are dependent in some way either with their time reference, truth-value of the proposition in the complements or the background (common ground) of the participants in the discourse. Whereas, indicative complements are not dependent and they are like simple declarative clauses.

The meaning of the complement type in Xɨmt'aŋa are characterized by the choice of complementizer; and the complementizers are not only the neutral markers of a complement type but also they bring their own meaning with the complement associated with them. The indicative complements are associated with the complementizer –äŋä to give a sense of realis modality. The subjunctive complements, on the other hand, are associated with the complementizers –ans, –ä, –š and –an. The complements associated with –ans give the meaning of commands, requests or manipulatives; while the complementizer –ä is associated with complements to which the meaning of intentions or desires is attached. However, both the –ans and –ä complementizers are used only in affirmative complements. When these complements change to negative, their complementizer becomes –äŋä.

Subjunctive complements are associated with CTPs expressing negative propositional attitude; commands and requests; intentions and desires; and modalities. Indicative complements are associated with CTPs expressing positive propositional attitude; assertion or report of assertions. The other complement types which have no choice of complementizer are participle complements and nominalized complements. The participle complements are regularly associated with immediate perception predicates. These complements function as attributive adjectives to modify nouns which function as the head of the complements. The nominalized complements are the arguments of the main predicates (CTPs); and they are regularly found with phasal predicates, with some desiderative predicates, and with modals. The nominalizer of the complement predicates is –änäw.

The complement types of Xɨmt'aŋa also differ in their degree of reduction of information. The nominalized complements are reduced in their person, number, gender, tense and aspect distinctions. Moreover, their arguments are not overtly expressed. In participle complements, the tense distinctions are reduced. Similarly, subjunctive complements reduce their tense information in varying degrees depending on whether the complements are in their affirmative or negative forms. Indicative complements, on the other hand, have

less degree of reduction of information for the verbal categories relative to the other complement types.

The manner of syntactic relation of the notional complements to the matrix (main clause) in complement relation of the language is hypotaxis (subordination) in which both the main and complement clauses together involve a single assertion, but not paratactic construction. The grammatical status of the complement predicate are also identified in Xɨmt'aŋa complement clauses. Depending on the function of the complement type, the grammatical status of the indicative and subjunctive complement predicates are coded as verbs; whereas, the participle complement predicates are coded as adjectives, and the nominalized complement predicates as nouns.

5. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

* = Ungrammatical
1 = First person
2 = Second person
3 = Third person
A= Aspect
ABL = Ablative case
ACC = Accusative
AUX = Auxiliary
CAUS = Causative
CL = Clause
COM = Comitative
COMP = Complimentizer
CTP = Complement taking predicate
DAT = Dative case
DEF = Definite
DTR = Time Reference Dependency
FNTZR = Finitizer
FSG = Feminine singular
FUT = Future tense
IMPRF = Imperfective
ITR = Independent Time Reference
LOC = Locative
M= Mood
MSG = Masculine singular
NEG = Negative
NZR = Nominalizer
PASS = Passive
PAST = Past tense
PERF = Perfective
PL = Plural
POSS = Possessive
PRES = Present tense
PROG = Progressive
RECP = Reciprocal
SG =Singular
SoA = State of Affair
T= Tense
TEMPO = Temporal

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